262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
• 264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203 - A]

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with each other man in turn until his bottle is empty 273* 561 The relative age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the [533]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

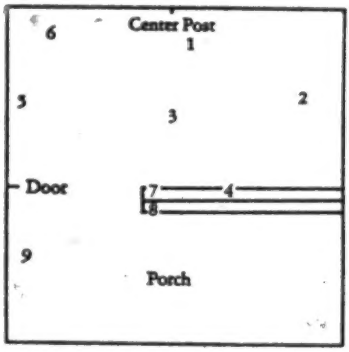
Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost
[693] nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen
[576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before
[178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on
• [264] around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The Indians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a recent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the father preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shotguns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work." The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

592 593 606 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal [264] times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her husband's household does not. The change of residence at the time 591 757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

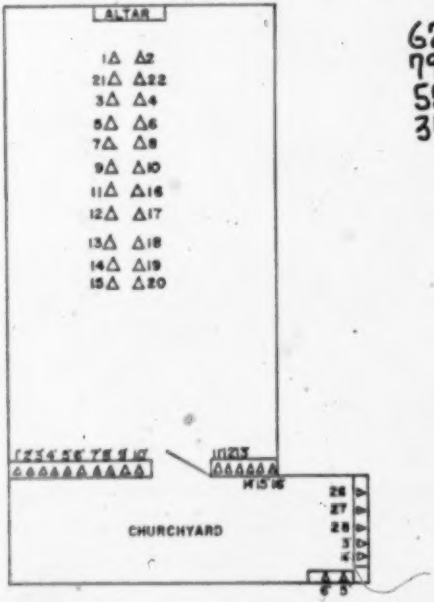

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

[P. 223-B]

[P. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621
124
796
693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal me?tik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

*621
124
796
264
292
262
693

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
124
796
693
576
[203]

(*K'a s'acbal yac helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op*. *kut' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

19.	Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
20.	Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
21.	What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam koz*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
22.	How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
23.	Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
24.	What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
25.	What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiśperes	
26.	What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
27.	What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
28.	What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
29.	Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
30.	Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
31.	Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
32.	What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
33.	What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
34.	How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawanchtik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
35.	How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
36.	What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
37.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	